

**Implementing Restorative Justice within an Integrated Welfare System:
The Evaluation of Glasgow's Restorative Justice Service**

Summary Report

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This is the summary report of the evaluation of Glasgow's Restorative Justice Service, carried out by Glasgow City Council in partnership with the Criminal Justice Social Work (C.J.S.W.) Development Centre. The information presented here relates to the first full year of R.J.S. service operation, covering the period from 7th July 2003 to 30th June 2004.

The purpose of the report is to share the findings with practitioners and others interested in the processes and outcomes of restorative justice. The report identifies a number of achievements of the service over a 12 month period and also makes suggestions as to how these achievements might be built upon.

Key Findings:

- Glasgow City Council has established the Restorative Justice Service (R.J.S.) as a key element in the overall response to youth crime and disorder, providing police and reporters with restorative options for young people across a wide range of situations.
- During the first year R.J.S. received 1409 referrals from S.C.R.A. A total of 1236 young people were referred for 1604 different offence charges. These charges predominantly related to minor crime, although a not insubstantial number related to more serious offending including the possession of weapons and alcohol related violence. The vast majority of young people referred had little or no prior history of offending behaviour.
- Referral profiling data has provided important insights into the incidence of youth offending. This could potentially contribute to a more complete analysis of social need and crime related risks amongst young people across Glasgow. This data highlights the importance of developing better integrated responses, such as specific arrangements between R.J.S. and schools for offending during the school day and special arrangements with youth justice for young people offending after 10 pm or involving serious and violent offences, to ensure the complex needs of young people are fully addressed.

- During the first year of operation, 48% of referrals processed by R.J.S. closed with a restorative warning delivered by Strathclyde Police. Much smaller proportions of referrals closed with other interventions offered by the service, such as the conference or programme.
- Encouragingly, almost all young people indicated that they had received family support during restorative warnings: 99% of respondents reported they were accompanied by a family member.
- Whilst rates of participation amongst victims contacted by R.J.S. were relatively high, overall there has been limited victim participation in interventions. International research suggests one of the most potent influences on young peoples desistance from offending is the 'victim factor'; thus, consideration needs to be given to increasing victim involvement with interventions.
- Early indicative evaluation outcome data suggests relatively high levels of process satisfaction amongst young people, victims and professionals who participated in restorative interventions. However, as with studies of similar initiatives elsewhere, there is as yet little evidence to suggest restorative interventions have a greater impact on reducing youth offending than other forms of diversion or non-intervention for very minor and first offenders.
- The establishment of restorative services in Glasgow, where there has been no history of such provision, represents a significant achievement. However, the nascent nature of this provision in Scotland means there is still much to be learned. In Glasgow, the next stage of implementing restorative intervention will need to concentrate on refining and focusing existing practice and, crucially, ensuring that restorative interventions become fully integrated with other services working to address offending and anti-social behaviour amongst young people.

Background

Glasgow's Restorative Justice Service (R.J.S.) is part of a £2 million Scottish Executive initiative launched in March 2003 to promote restorative measures in Scotland's youth justice system. This initiative supplements the long history of reparation and mediation in criminal justice social work in the adult system and reflects the substantial international growth in restorative justice provision over the past 20 to 30 years.²

R.J.S. was developed by Glasgow City Council as an initiative to reduce the rates of offending, re-offending and the amount of low level crime committed by young people in Glasgow through the delivery of a multi-agency restorative justice (R.J.) response. The service was established with the following aims and objectives:

R.J.S. Aims

"To adopt a restorative approach in responding to young people involved in offending, thereby holding these young people to account for their actions and, as a consequence, to reduce repeat offending by the individuals concerned. In addition it is hoped the service will

- *directly address harm caused and focus on consequences of behaviour*
- *engage young people in alternative activities that can divert them from future offending*
- *communicate with community groups*
- *improve communication between the Strathclyde Police, Victim Support, Community Services and S.C.R.A.*"³

R.J.S. Operation and Service Provision

From July 2003, R.J.S. accepted 'referrals' for young people aged between 12 and 15 years of age who had been involved in between one and five episodes of offending.⁴ The model of operation adopted in Glasgow relied on a number of key agencies working together closely to provide an efficient and effective service, and both Strathclyde Police and the Children's Reporter (S.C.R.A.) played a crucial role in processing referrals. Within each police division in Glasgow, a '*police allocator*' was responsible for identifying young people reported for offences who may be suitable for a R.J. response. This information was then passed to S.C.R.A. for consideration. This introduction of the police allocator role was intended to 'empower' police officers to deal effectively with young people, and ensure that young people involved in low-level offending behaviour received rapid intervention.

R.J. added to the options available to reporters where they decided to take no further formal action. First offenders and young people previously unknown to S.C.R.A. were directed to the dedicated 'restorative justice reporter'. Information relating to young people previously known to S.C.R.A. was forwarded to area reporters for more in-depth assessment. Where reporters planned to use restorative measures, identifiable victims were contacted and informed of this intention as part of the assessment. At this stage, victims were provided with an opportunity to 'opt out' of any R.J. measures. Details of those recommended for restorative intervention, together with details of victims who did not 'opt-out' were then sent by S.C.R.A. to R.J.S.

Three main categories of restorative intervention were co-ordinated by R.J.S.: restorative warning, restorative conferencing and a restorative programme. Whilst there was some flexibility in allocation, the agreed referral criteria for the service stipulated that where young people committed offences⁵ that *had a significant impact on an identifiable victim* they were suitable for the Conference stream of the service. Young people who had committed offences where there was *not* a significant impact on an identifiable victim were viewed as suitable for either the Warning or Programme stream of the service, depending on the frequency of their offending. Young people with between one and two episodes of offending were directed to the Warning stream, whereas those with between three and five episodes were referred to the Programme stream of R.J.S.

Restorative warnings were meetings for young people and an appropriate adult that aimed to provide an opportunity "...to discuss the impact of the offence upon their victim, community and family; and to apologise to the victim or offer to make some form of reparation." R.J.S. took overall responsibility for co-ordinating restorative warnings, which were provided by Strathclyde police officers who had received restorative justice training.

Restorative conference interventions were co-ordinated and delivered by staff of the R.J.S. The overarching aim of this service stream was "to allow young people involved in an offence and those affected by that offence the opportunity to meet in a safe environment...allowing young people to take responsibility for their actions, hear directly from those people affected by the offence and help make amends." The conference stream of R.J.S. was the only service stream to offer interventions involving direct victim contact. Three such interventions were provided: full restorative conferences, face to face meetings and shuttle mediation. Decisions regarding which intervention was appropriate to each particular case were made by R.J. workers, based on the level of participation and involvement desired by both victim and young person. Where it was not possible to secure any degree of victim involvement, an alternative intervention was used within the conference stream of the service: a victim awareness module. These modules were short cognitive skills packages designed to increase general awareness of how victims may be affected by crime.

The *restorative programme* was a four week programme designed for groups of young people (max. 12). The programme had two principal aims: [to] increase access to services by young people involved in the programme; and, [to] provide an opportunity for participants to repair the harm caused by their offending behaviour. The programme consisted of three 2-hour sessions each week for four weeks. Each programme had certain 'core' sessions, based on a community challenges; these aimed "...to enhance local communities; and, to be recognised as a valuable contribution by young people to the community..." and included tasks such as the "development of Community Gardens/allotments." Other sessions varied between programmes but generally included input from key partner agencies such as Strathclyde Police and the Fire Brigade.⁶ Referrals to the restorative programme were co-ordinated by R.J.S., whereas the programme itself was developed and delivered by Youth Services (Cultural and Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council) in conjunction with partner agencies.

Figure 1: Glasgow R.J.S. Organisation and Service Provision July 2003-July 2004



Research and Evaluation

Using an ‘action research’ approach, the evaluation focused on key elements of Glasgow’s R.J.S. development process and outcomes.⁷ Both qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted to generate data on the profiles of young people referred to R.J.S., outcomes of interventions and views of key stakeholders and participants. All young people referred to R.J.S. from July 2003 until July 2004 were included in this study.

Baseline Data

To establish an appropriate ‘baseline’ from which to compare rates of re-referral, the researchers identified 12 month outcomes for a historical group of children referred to S.C.R.A. in Glasgow for offending for the first time during the 12 month period from July 2002 to June 2003, when no restorative measures were available. The data were used to establish the number of young people re-referred for offending within a subsequent 12 month period where diversionary action was taken and children were not referred to a hearing.

Baseline data indicated that during the period from 1 July 2002 to 31 June 2003:

- 1791 young people were referred for a 1st offence. Of this group:
 - o 96 (5%) were referred to a children’s hearing
 - o 1695 (95%) received some form of diversionary disposal.
- Of the 1695 young people who were diverted:
 - o 536 (32%) went on to be involved in one further episode of offending.
 - o 174 (10%) went on to be involved in two further episodes of offending
 - o 100 (6%) went on to be involved in three or more further episodes of offending

Baseline data indicated approximately 68% of young people who were referred to S.C.R.A. for offending for the first time during the period from 1 July 2002 to 30 June 2003 were not subsequently re-referred to S.C.R.A. on offending grounds within a period of 12 months from a first offence for which they had received a diversionary disposal

As has been explained in previous sections, during the first year of operation Glasgow R.J.S. did accept referrals for young people with some history of prior offending. However, for various reasons, it was not possible to access data with an ‘exact match’ in terms of offending history to use as the baseline in this report. Whilst this should be borne in mind when considering the baseline alongside other re-referral rates presented in this report, re-referral rates are broadly comparable because of the limited ‘offending history’ of the young people referred to Glasgow R.J.S. during the first year of operation, detailed below.

Referrals Received by R.J.S.

During the first year of operation R.J.S. received 1409 referrals from S.C.R.A. The referral system was principally based on ‘episodes of offending’ rather than individual young people. ‘Episodes of offending’ were defined by police reports and constituted any single incident given a crime reference number, thus they could encompass multiple discrete offences committed by a young person. Whilst episodes of offending could also relate to multiple persons, referrals to R.J.S. could only relate to one individual young person. Thus, one referral to the R.J.S. would be made for individual young people for each separate episode of offending that they had participated in. In practical terms, this means that ‘referral’ levels do not represent either the number of individual young people who received restorative intervention or the number of discrete offences committed by these young people. The 1409 referrals received by Glasgow R.J.S. during the first year of operation related to a total 1236 young people and 1604 discrete offence charges. It is important, therefore, to note that the following discussion is based on the examination of *referrals* unless otherwise indicated.⁸

77% of the 1409 referrals received during the first year of operation related to young males, with the remaining 23% relating to young females. 90% of all referrals related to young people aged between 12 and 16 years, with 59% relating

to young people aged between 14 and 15 years. Only a very small proportion of referrals (7%) related to young people below the age of 12.

Young people were referred for a total of 1604 different offence charges, a substantial proportion of which (44%) were 'miscellaneous offences', and crimes related to 'violence against property' (20%). A number of charges (14%) also related to crimes of dishonesty.⁹ A substantial number of what may be regarded as more 'serious' offence charges were also referred to R.J.S. such as 'possession of an offensive weapon' (162 or 10% of all referrals received) and alcohol related disorder (169 or 11% of all referrals received).¹⁰

The overwhelming majority of referrals related to young people with little or no prior history of offending behaviour. 91% of all referrals related to young people with 2 or less previous (known) offences; 62% related to young people with no previous known history of offending behaviour.

Youth Crime

R.J.S. gathered profiling information for all referrals. Analysis of young people's home postcodes indicated that particularly high levels of referrals were received for young people resident in the following five (of 79) wards: Ward 30 (Springburn); Ward 42 (Barlanark); Ward 59 (Pollock); Ward 60 (Crookston); and Ward 79 (Glenwood). Analysis of times of offence commission indicated:

The bulk (54%) of offending was committed in 'normal' recreational times¹¹

High levels of referrals were received for offences committed on Friday nights. Typically, these related to street corner drinking and disorder amongst older teenagers

21% of all referrals related to offences committed before 4pm on a weekday – over a third of offences committed on Monday – Thursday were before 4pm – suggesting related issues of school attendance

9% of all referrals related to offences committed after 10pm

Data gathered by R.J.S. only related to those young people and offences referred to the service and are thus partial in nature. Nevertheless, it illustrates the need to develop more strategic, co-ordinated and better integrated responses to adequately address the complex needs of young people involved in offending. For example, restorative interventions cannot, in isolation, resolve issues of parental supervision which may be relevant to those young people committing offences after 10pm; nor can they resolve school attendance problems relevant to young people committing offences before 4pm on weekdays. Rather, consideration needs to be given to integrating restorative interventions with other services working to address offending and anti-social behaviour amongst young people.

R.J.S. Responses

The overwhelming majority¹² of the 1409 referrals received during the first year closed with one of five outcomes:

48% (682) closed with a warning

28% (400) were unsuitable for restorative intervention and returned to S.C.R.A.

9% (123) closed with a victim awareness module

7% (102) closed with a conference¹³

4% (63) closed with a restorative programme

With almost half of all referrals closing with restorative warnings, this intervention represented the 'core business' of R.J.S. during the first year. The second most frequent outcome was 'return to S.C.R.A.' These referrals would generally have been subject to no further formal action by S.C.R.A. as it is standard practice amongst Reporters not to alter initial decisions on referrals. Referrals were returned to S.C.R.A. for a range of reasons; the most frequent of these was young people failing to appear for warnings, with approximately 29% (n.116) of all 400 referrals returned to S.C.R.A. being returned for this reason.

Whilst voluntary participation is consistent with the principles of restorative justice, it appears rather incongruous that young people can choose not to participate in restorative interventions (particularly police warnings) and be subject to no further action or formal intervention. Arguably, it may be those young people most at 'risk' of offending, and in most need of some form of early intervention that fail to participate. This suggests there may be a need for some form of 'outreach' or other provision for these young people and their families. However, before this can be established, it will be necessary to try and gather further information on young people who do not participate in restorative interventions.

Victim Participation

One of the three R.J.S. streams, *the conference stream*, provided interventions with victim participation, namely: full conferences, face to face meetings and shuttle mediation. One other intervention not involving any victim participation was also provided within the conference stream: a victim awareness module.

During the first year of operation, S.C.R.A. played an important role in managing initial contacts with victims of offences which were referred to Glasgow R.J.S. Before any information was passed to Glasgow R.J.S., all victims were initially contacted by S.C.R.A. to request that they participate in any subsequent interventions. This was done on the basis of an 'opt-out' system, where victims were required to contact S.C.R.A. (within seven days of receiving an initial letter) if they did *not* want to participate in restorative intervention. Details of those victims who did not 'opt-out' of the process, together with the details young people recommended for restorative intervention, were then sent by S.C.R.A. to R.J.S. S.C.R.A. also sent letters notifying the families of the decision. In practice, therefore, this process operated as a type of 'filter mechanism', whereby R.J.S. only received the details of those victims who did not contact S.C.R.A. to 'opt out' of participation in restorative processes.

During the first year, 16% of all referrals (n.225) were closed within the conference stream of the service. R.J.S. received victim details from S.C.R.A. for 171 (76%) of these 225 referrals. R.J.S. workers were successful in making subsequent contact with the victim for 145 (85%) of the 171 referrals where victim details were received from S.C.R.A. Of the 145 referrals where R.J.S. managed to make an initial successful contact with the victim, a total of 96 (66%) closed with one of the three conference interventions involving direct victim participation.¹⁴ These 96 referrals represented 56% of all referrals that contained victim details.

Anomalously, whilst there were only 96 referrals where it was recorded that victims had been contacted by R.J.S. and had agreed to participate in intervention, a total of 102 referrals closed with an intervention outcome intended to involve direct victim participation. One possible explanation for this anomaly may be found in the working practices of Glasgow R.J.S. during the first year of operation. R.J.S. workers reported that in this period conferences and face to face interventions, though intended to involve direct victim participation, occasionally took place without any victim in attendance. In such situations, workers would either find an independent third party to 'represent' some of the anticipated feelings of the victim or hold meetings with multiple young people who had been referred for the same episode of offending.¹⁵

The 102 referrals that closed with an intervention involving victim participation related to a total of 95 young people, and 73 separate episodes of offending committed against a total of 63 victims (32 individual and 31 corporate victims.)

Victim Participation

A total of 102 referrals closed with an intervention involving victim participation. Of these:

52 (51%) closed with a conferences outcome

17 (17%) closed with face to face meetings

33 (32%) closed with shuttle mediations

In summary, it can be seen that whilst rates of participation amongst victims *actually contacted* by R.J.S. were high (96 of the 171 cases where details were received or 56%) overall there was relatively limited victim participation in restorative interventions in Glasgow. This is comparable with the findings of other research studies that have examined levels of victim participation in restorative interventions; the recent evaluation of the Youth Justice Board projects in England and Wales, for example, found that 67% of victims contacted subsequently agreed to participate in restorative interventions.¹⁶

In view of international research, which suggests one of the most potent influences on participant desistance from offending is the ‘victim factor’,¹⁷ consideration needs to be given to increasing victim involvement and engagement with R.J.S. interventions.

Evaluation Outcomes

i) Intervention Timescales

When Glasgow R.J.S. was first established, it was anticipated that the new initiative would reduce the *length of time* between the commission of offences by young people and the provision of intervention. This was perceived to be an important issue that should be addressed by the new initiative, and referral procedures were designed to promote the reduction of time taken to deliver intervention to young people involved in offending behaviour. This objective was principally pursued by the creation of the new role of the ‘police allocator’, detailed above.

R.J.S. set a target timescale that restorative warnings would be administered within 14 days of the R.J.S. co-ordinator receiving referrals from S.C.R.A.

60% of restorative warnings were administered within 14 days during the first year of R.J.S. operation¹⁸

The average length of time taken to process restorative warnings (from receipt to date of administration) was 20 days

No ‘target timescales’ were established for interventions provided in the other two primary service streams of R.J.S. (i.e. conference and programme). The interventions offered in these two service streams were longer, more complex and required much more organisation by R.J.S. staff. Moreover, the diversity of issues involved in the referrals allocated for interventions in these service streams suggested that it would not have been appropriate to set time targets.

ii) Re-referral

Re-referral information was supplied by S.C.R.A. from the Reporter’s Administrative Database (RAD) for all young people who were referred to Glasgow R.J.S. during the first year of operation. Re-referral rates for young people who participated in the three main restorative interventions (i.e. warnings, conferencing and programmes) are presented below.

Restorative Warning

Re-referral amongst young people in the twelve months following the original offence for which they were referred to Glasgow R.J.S. was calculated for referrals that closed with a restorative warning during the first year of operation.¹⁹ As was noted above, 682 referrals closed with a restorative warning representing 48% of all referrals received by R.J.S. during the first year of operation. These referrals related to a total of 666 actual warnings delivered to a 645 individual young people (i.e. 21 young people received two separate restorative warnings).²⁰ Data inconsistencies between R.J.S. and S.C.R.A. meant that it was not possible to track 46 (7%) of these young people; the following analysis is therefore based on the 620 young people for whom data was available.

Restorative Warning Re-referral

In the twelve months following the original offence for which they were referred to Glasgow R.J.S.:

71% of young people had not been re-referred to S.C.R.A. on offence grounds

18% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for one episode of offending

7% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for two episodes of offending

4% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for three or more episodes of offending

Restorative Conference Interventions involving Victim Participation²¹

Re-referral amongst young people in the twelve months following the original offence for which they were referred to Glasgow R.J.S. was calculated for referrals that closed with a restorative conference intervention involving victim participation during the first year of operation.²² The 102 referrals that closed with a restorative conference intervention involving victim participation related to a total of 95 young people, who as a group participated in 97 interventions involving victim participation (i.e. two young people received two separate interventions).²³ Data inconsistencies between R.J.S. and S.C.R.A. meant that it was not possible to track 12 (12%) of these young people; the following analysis is therefore based on the 83 young people for whom data was available.

Conference Re-Referral Rates

In the twelve months following the original offence for which they were referred to Glasgow R.J.S.:

59% of young people had not been re-referred to S.C.R.A. on offence grounds

34% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for one episode of offending

6% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for two episodes of offending

1% of young people were re-referred to S.C.R.A. for three or more episodes of offending

Restorative Programme

Re-referral data were gathered for all young people (n.71) who were scheduled to attend one of the five restorative programmes which completed during the first year of operation. Due to the particular nature of the programme (including the ongoing nature of intervention; the length of time young people may wait to attend a programme; and various administrative issues that surrounded the recording of this information within R.J.S.) assessing re-referral rates from the date of the young person's original referral offence carried an extremely high risk of inflating re-referral rates and under-estimating the impact of restorative intervention. Thus, re-referral rates for these young people were measured on the basis of the 12 month period after the 'effective end date'²⁴ of the young person's involvement with R.J.S.²⁵

Of the 71 people who were scheduled to attend a restorative programme that completed during the first year of R.J.S. operation, 46 (65%) actually participated and 25 failed to attend. Data inconsistencies between R.J.S. and S.C.R.A. meant that it was not possible to track 4 (6%) of these young people;²⁶ the following analysis is therefore based on the 67 young people for whom data was available.

Programme Re-referral Rates

In the twelve months *following the 'effective end date' of the restorative programme* which they were scheduled to attend:

57% of young people who completed the programme had not been re-referred to S.C.R.A. on offence grounds

65% of those young people who *failed to attend* the restorative programme had not been re-referred to S.C.R.A. on offence grounds

It is difficult to ascertain why a higher proportion of young people who completed the programme were re-referred for offending than those who failed to attend. Given the relatively low number of young people involved it would be inappropriate to draw general conclusions; however, other studies have indicated that short programmes may not be effective to address the needs of young people with multiple difficulties.²⁷ Further consideration, therefore, should be given to both the objectives and targeting of the restorative programme, and required follow up work with young people.

iii) Participant Satisfaction

Evaluation findings suggest that, hitherto, there have been very high satisfaction levels for restorative justice services amongst all participants.

Restorative Warnings

Feedback was received from police officers regarding 98% (n=472) of restorative warnings conducted during the period from July 2003 to April 2004.²⁸ This feedback was very positive regarding not only the warning process, but also the perceived impact on individual young people.

Warnings: Police Views

97% of warnings represented 'a fair and respectful process'

71% of warnings were likely to result in the young person changing their behaviour

67% of warnings resulted in verbal apologies by young people

Feedback was received from 85% (n.403) of young people who received a restorative warning in the period from July 2003 to April 2004. Young people also presented a positive picture of the warning process:

Warnings : Young People's Views

98% of young people felt that the restorative warning was fair and respectful

85% of young people reported that they had provided a verbal apology at the warning

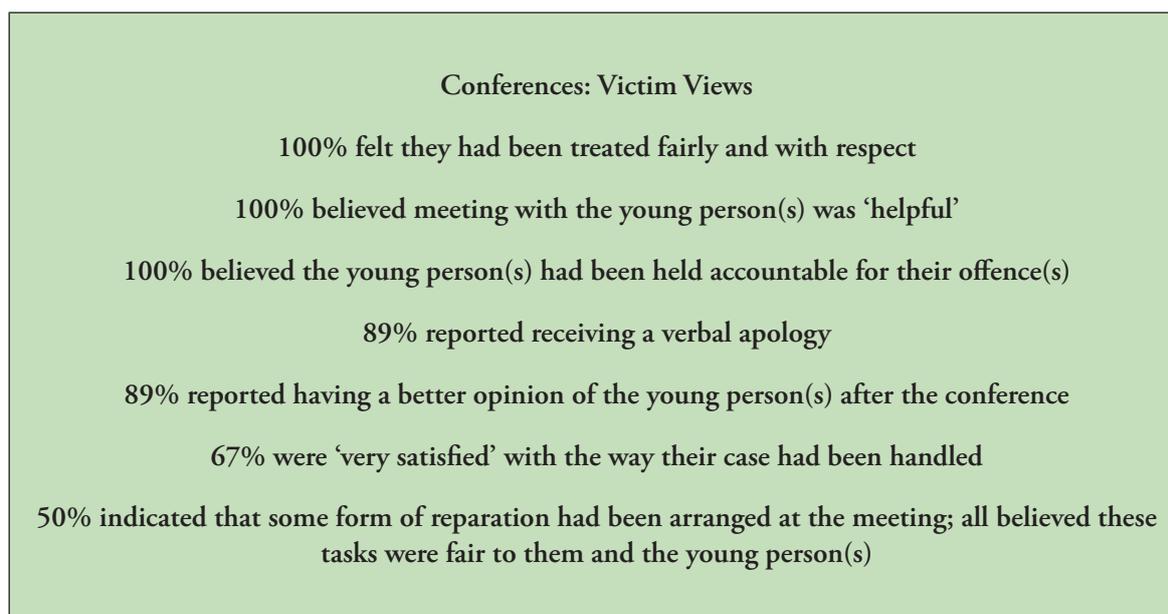
It is perhaps of some note that there is an evident difference in the numbers of young people who indicated that a verbal apology was given and the number of young people identified by police officers as providing a verbal apology. Whilst it is not possible to definitively assess why this is the case, such differences suggest that restorative warnings may be perceived very differently by the young people and police officers participating in the interaction. It may also suggest difficulties in communication between police officers and young people; young people may believe they have provided a verbal apology, yet police officers may not have perceived their words, actions or body language to be consistent with an apology. It is also possible that there may be some training issues to be addressed amongst police officers who deliver restorative warnings.

Encouragingly, the overwhelming majority of young people indicated that they had received family support during this process: 99% reported they were accompanied to the warning by a family member. As research suggests that family support is a crucial element in restorative interventions, this is a very positive finding.

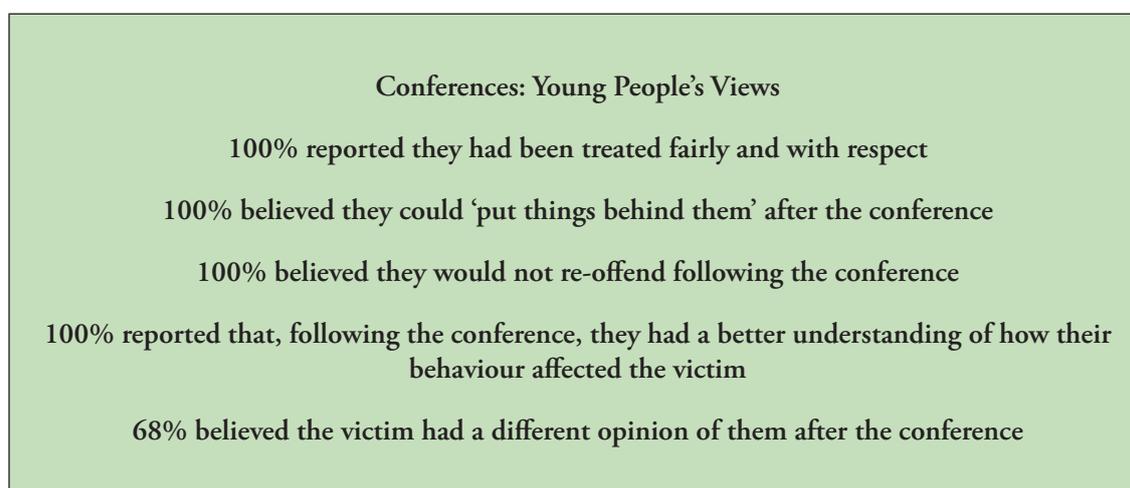
Restorative Conferences

Feedback was received from 60% (n=18) of victims who participated in a conference or face to face meeting between October 2003 and June 2004.²⁹ Respondents were, in general, highly satisfied with both the intervention and the R.J. process.

Victim respondents reported a number of 'initial expectations' of the conference process. The two most frequent of these were that they would be given the opportunity: to tell the young person how they had been affected by the offence (89%; n=16); and, to work out an agreement acceptable to both them and the young person (78%; n=14). The overwhelming majority of respondents (94%; n=17) indicated that restorative conferences had fulfilled their initial expectations. Six victims (33%) reported they had known the young person(s) prior to their victimisation.



Feedback was also received from 60% (n=25) of young people who participated in a conference or face to face meeting during the same period. Young respondents were, in general, positive regarding restorative processes and their impact. For these young respondents, participating in the conference had generated various emotions ranging from a feeling of being listened to (52%; n=13), to being embarrassed (28%; n=7) and feelings of being 'under pressure' (12%; n=3). Young respondents also reported a number of 'initial expectations'. The most frequent expectation, shared by all respondents, was that they would be provided with the opportunity to 'explain their side of the story'. Another was that they would have the opportunity to 'hear the victim's side of the story' (96%; n=24). A number of respondents also believed it was important for the meeting to provide opportunities to 'make up for what they did' (84%; n=21) and to 'apologise' (76%; n=19). These expectations were reflected in reasons for participating in conference interventions. The two most frequent reasons for participating were a desire to 'make things right' (60%; n=15); and, to say sorry to the victim' (48%; n=12). 8 young people (32%) reported that they had known the victim prior to their offending.



Conclusions

In a relatively short period of time, R.J.S. has been established as a key element in Glasgow City Council's response to youth crime and disorder. Since inception, the service has made positive contributions in a number of areas including:

A positive attempt to address offending amongst young people in the city

Recognising the importance of understanding and responding to the needs of victims in Glasgow City Council's overall strategy to reduce youth crime

Establishing restorative services in Glasgow, where there has been no history of such provision

Developing effective co-operation between key partners

Generating meaningful data on young people and their offending in Glasgow

Providing police and reporters with readily available restorative options across a wide range of situations

Providing interventions with relatively high levels of process satisfaction and relatively low levels of re-sanctioning amongst young people

Notwithstanding this, the nascent nature of restorative justice provision in Scotland means that there is still much to be learned nationwide. In Glasgow, the next stage of implementing restorative intervention will need to concentrate on refining and focusing existing practice and, crucially, ensuring that restorative interventions become fully integrated with other services in Glasgow working to address offending and anti-social behaviour amongst young people. It is possible to identify a number of specific issues that are worthy of consideration in the future development of the service.

- R.J.S. profiling data has the potential to be developed into a more complete analysis of social need and crime-related need amongst young people across the City of Glasgow. However, this will require increased collaboration and information sharing across R.J.S., Youth Justice Social Work and other key agencies and service providers.
- Profiling data raises a number of issues about the types of community services and responses that may be required. Consideration should be given to developing specific agreements with schools for responding to children offending during the school day; with community services for children offending during their normal recreational time; and special arrangements with youth justice for young people offending after 10 pm or involving serious and violent offences, such as carrying offensive weapons or alcohol and drug related offending.
- Profiling data illustrates the importance of basing any restorative intervention on a clear assessment of the needs of individual young people. Consideration needs to be given to the further development of structured assessment processes within R.J.S., and subsequently the appropriate targeting of interventions offered by the service.
- Related to this, restorative provision needs to be more clearly located in the continuum of provision for children who offend in Glasgow. The Youth Justice Forum - Glasgow's Strategic Planning Group for Youth Justice Services will have a key role to play in assisting R.J.S. in the future development and targeting of interventions.
- As with other research studies that have examined similar initiatives, there is as yet no evidence to suggest that restorative interventions in isolation are more likely to reduce offending and re-offending amongst young people than other forms of diversion or non-intervention. Nonetheless, restorative interventions have a number of other benefits, such as incorporating victim perspectives into interventions with young people. Moreover, early indicative evaluation findings, similarly to other studies, show very high levels of satisfaction amongst young people, victims and professionals alike. Such findings within extant international research have led many to conclude that restorative justice is most effective when used as a process *alongside* and *in conjunction with* other service provision addressing the needs of young people. In this light, consideration should be given to developing restorative responses which are fully integrated with other services in Glasgow.
- Hitherto R.J.S. interventions have mainly focused on young people involved in first time and minor offending. However, if the potential of restorative interventions is to be maximised, consideration should be given to further developing service provision to young people involved in more serious, frequent and persistent offending.

- There is a need for clear protocols to be established between S.C.R.A and Glasgow R.J.S. to ensure that young people with multiple difficulties, and those involved in anti-social or criminal activity have the benefit of restorative justice provision *alongside* other necessary assistance. It is these young people who are the highest risk of persistent re-offending, and it is with these young people, therefore, that restorative justice provision has the greatest potential to impact on offending and re-referral.
- Research suggests that one of the most potent influences on participant desistance from offending is the ‘victim factor.’ Therefore consideration needs to be given to increasing victim involvement and engagement with R.J.S. interventions, which has hitherto been relatively limited.
- Further information is required on non-compliance with restorative interventions by young people, in particular, non-attendance for restorative warnings. Some consideration should be given to following up those who fail to attend, as these may be the group who are most in need of positive intervention.
- Finally, it is important that R.J.S. continues to improve and develop routine systems for timeous, efficient and accurate data collection and recording, both internally and with partner organisations. Such systems are crucial if effective monitoring and evaluation of the service are to be continued.

Kathryn Dutton and Bill Whyte¹

(Endnotes)

¹ Kathryn Dutton was Glasgow R.J.S.'s dedicated researcher during from August 2004 – February 2006 and is now a researcher at the Criminal Justice Social Work Development Centre for Scotland and may be contacted via the Centre: Criminal Justice Social Work Development Centre for Scotland, University of Edinburgh, School of Social and Political Studies, 31 Buccleuch Place Edinburgh, EH8 9LJ (kathryn.dutton@ed.ac.uk). Bill Whyte is Director of the Centre and may be contacted at the same address. Credit for some of the data collection presented herein must go to Lucy Clarke, who was the dedicated R.J.S. researcher from July 2003 – August 2004, the period covered by this report.

² See further Whyte, Bill (2002) *Crime and Restorative Justice* Edinburgh: CJSW Briefing; and Warner, S. (1992) *Making Amends - Justice for Victims and Offenders* Aldershot: Avebury.

³ Scottish Children's Reporter Administration.

⁴ From July – November 2003 these episodes must have taken place in the 6 months preceding referral. In November 2003 R.J.S. began to accept referrals for young people aged between 8 and 15 years who had been involved in between one and five episodes of offending in any preceding time period.

⁵ Between one and five offences *ibid.*

⁶ Glasgow Community Safety Partnership (2003) *Restorative Justice Service Programme Information Leaflet*

⁷ An action research approach was adopted to support service development and to involve practitioners directly in the process of generating the desired outputs. See further, Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioners*. Oxford: Blackwells.

⁸ Glasgow R.J.S. internal data collection and storage systems are based on the recording of *referrals* thus it was necessary to use this as the principal basis of the analysis.

⁹ Crime and offence definitions used within this report accord with Scottish Executive (T.S.E.) categorisations, where miscellaneous offences are classified as 'category 6', crimes of 'violence against property' are classified as 'category 4' and 'crimes of dishonesty' are classified as category 3.

¹⁰ This is not to suggest that some of the offences categorised as 'miscellaneous' were not serious in nature, or that the victims of these crimes did not regard them as serious.

¹¹ i.e. early evenings (before 10pm), outwith school hours and weekends before 10pm.

¹² Of the remaining 39 (3%) referrals, 3 were still classed as 'open' at the time of this report and 36 received alternative forms of intervention: 19 closed with a warning letter and 17 were classified as closing with 'other' (unspecified) forms of intervention by R.J.S. All percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole number (-100)

¹³ This figure is comprised of full conferences (3.2%), face to face meetings (0.92%) and shuttle mediation (1.4%)

¹⁴ Namely, a full restorative conference, face-to-face work or shuttle mediation. The remaining 49 referrals (34%) closed with the young person participating in a victim awareness module.

¹⁵ Based on informal discussions and data collection with workers based at the Glasgow R.J.S. this would seem to be the most likely explanation for the disparity. However, it was not possible to assess whether this was the only explanation for the disparity. It is possible, for example, that disparities may also result from errors in the data recorded by the service.

¹⁶ Wilcox, A. and Hoyle, C. (2004) *Restorative Justice Projects: The National Evaluation of the Youth Justice Board's Restorative Justice Projects* London: Youth Justice Board. See also Maxwell, G. M. and Morris, A. (1993) *Families, Victims and Culture: Youth Justice in New Zealand* Wellington: Department of Social Welfare and Institute of Criminology and, more generally, Whyte, Bill (2002) *Crime and Restorative Justice* Edinburgh: CJSW Briefing

¹⁷ For a general overview of some of this work see: Whyte, Bill (2002) *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Valid percentages based on the 655 warnings conducted for which intervention dates were available.

¹⁹ Although dates of actual intervention (i.e. the date on which the restorative warning was delivered) were available, re-referral levels are measured from the date of the commission of the original offence for which the young person was referred to R.J.S. in order that this data is as comparable as possible with the 'baseline' data that has been detailed in this report. However, as this method presents the danger of including some offending committed by young people prior to restorative intervention, offences committed by young people *prior to their referral being received by R.J.S.* have been excluded from this analysis.

²⁰ Where individual young people received two separate restorative warnings they are counted 'twice' in the re-referral analysis presented in this report.

²² Dates of actual intervention were not consistently collected for full conferences or face to face meetings conducted during the first year of operation, and such dates cannot be obtained for 'shuttle mediations' because of the ongoing nature of the intervention. For these reasons, and in order that this data is as comparable as possible with the 'baseline' data that has been detailed in this report, re-referral has been measured from the date of the offence for which the young person was referred to Glasgow R.J.S. As with the restorative warning re-referral data presented above, offences committed by young people *prior to their referral being received by R.J.S.* have been excluded from this analysis to minimise the risk of including offending committed by young people prior to restorative intervention. However, it is still possible that some offending committed prior to intervention may still be included in this analysis as the work involved in arranging some interventions, particularly full restorative conferences, meant that there could be some time from the referral being received by the Glasgow R.J.S. and the actual intervention taking place.

²³ Where individual young people participated in two separate restorative conference interventions involving direct victim participation they are counted 'twice' in the re-referral analysis presented in this report.

²⁴ The 'effective programme end date' is intended to represent the conclusion of R.J. intervention and has been calculated as the final day of the month in which the programme was scheduled to take place.

²⁵ Whilst this method of measuring re-referral was the most appropriate for those young people scheduled to attend the programme, it should be noted that such an approach makes the programme re-referral data less comparable with the baseline data presented in this report.

²⁶ 2 young people who had participated in the programme and 2 who had not.

²⁷ See, for example, Lipsey, M. W. (1992) *Juvenile Delinquency Treatment: A Meta-analytic Inquiry into the Variability of Effects in T* D Cook, H Cooper, D S Cordray, H Hartmann, L V Hedges, R J Light, A Louis and F Mosteller (Eds.) *Meta-analysis for Explanation: A Casebook* New York: Sage; and Lipsey, M. W. and Wilson, D. B. (1993) *The Efficacy of Psychological, Educational, and Behavioural Treatment: Confirmation from Meta-Analysis* *American Psychologist* 48, 1181-1209

²⁸ Police officers returned one feedback form for each young person who received a warning, regardless of the number of referrals for that young person. 472 feedback forms were received of a possible 482. A total of 510 referrals were received for these young people.

²⁹ R.J.S. did not routinely collect feedback from participants involved in shuttle mediation during this period. The reasons for this are unclear. However, during the first year of operation systems began to be developed to collect feedback from individuals involved in shuttle mediation and forms were introduced to consistently collect feedback from participants in these interventions in August 2003.

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